

## Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 2784

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY FROM MACOMBER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SNAR, TU

SUBJ: BACKGROUND FOR SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION WITH  
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. WHILE WE HAVE A RANGE OF US-TURKISH BILATERAL PROBLEMS TO DEAL WITH HERE, ONLY ONE, THE TURKISH THREAT TO RESCIND THE BAN ON THE GROWING OF OPIUM POPPIES, IS OF SUFFICIENT POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCE TO REQUIRE YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION IN ANY DEPTH AT THIS TIME. DEPARTMENT BRIEFING PAPER WILL, OF COURSE, COVER OTHER MATTERS LIKELY TO COME UP IN YOUR CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GUNES APRIL 15.

2. EVEN POPPY PROBLEM IS IN SOMETHING OF A LULL AT THE MOMENT AS A RESULT OF MAJOR EMBASSY AND DEPARTMENT DEMARCHES AND OF A BELATED GOT REALIZATION THAT EARLIER DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS HERE ON THIS SUBJECT WERE IMPELLING TURKEY INTO A DANGEROUS HEAD-ON COLLISION WITH THE US. AS A RESULT, THE POLICY FOLLOWED BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE PAST TWO TO THREE WEEKS HAS BEEN TO "COOL IT". THE TURKISH PRESIDENT (WHO HAS SENT WORD TO ME OF HIS CONCERN) IS EXERCISING USEFUL INFLUENCE BEHIND THE SCENES, AND WE BELIEVE SOME SENIOR MILITARY LEADERS ARE PLAYING A SIMILAR ROLE IN REINFORCING THE TARDY BUT NOW GENUINE CONCERN OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OVER U.S. REACTION. IN ANY EVENT, THE DECIBELS OF THE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

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ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE BEEN NOTICEABLY LOWERED HERE IN RECENT

DAYS.

3. THAT DISCUSSION REACHED ITS APEX OF STRIDENT NATIONALISM AND ANTI-AMERICANISM IN THE WAKE OF CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL'S RECENT VISIT TO TURKEY, WHICH WAS WIDELY INTERPRETED HERE AS A THREATENING AND UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE BY OUTSIDERS IN TURKEY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. DESPITE AN ADROIT AND ADMIRABLE PERFORMANCE WHILE IN TURKEY, IT WAS, THE FACT OF THEIR COMING

HERE TO COMBAT THE THREATENED POPPY BAN RECISION AND THE STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO THEM BEFORE AND AFTER THEIR VISIT REGARDING THE CUT-OFF OF AID THAT DID THE DAMAGE.

4. IN ANY EVENT, PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND FOREIGN MINISTER GUNES, FOLLOWING OUR EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, HAVE NOW ASSURED ME THAT (A) THEY WISH TO DEAL WITH US IN AS CALM AND QUIET A WAY AS POSSIBLE ON THIS MATTER AND (B) WHILE DOMESTIC POLITICAL REALITIES MAKE IT, IN THEIR JUDGMENT, IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTINUE A TOTAL BAN, THROUGH ANOTHER FALL PLANTING SEASON, THEY HAVE NOT MADE THAT DECISION, THEY WILL NOT MAKE FOR SOME TIME, AND THEY WILL NOT MAKE IT BEFORE TALKING FURTHER WITH US. THEY HOPE TO FIND A WAY TO MEET THE POLITICAL REALITIES HERE WITHOUT BADLY DAMAGING THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE US ON AN ISSUE WHICH THEY NOW UNDERSTAND CAN AROUSE EMOTIONS IN THE US AS EXTENSIVELY AS IT HAS IN TURKEY. I SAY "CAN AROUSE" BECAUSE TURKS HERE ARE NOT YET CONVINCED THAT IN FACT THE US REACTION WILL BE SO EXTREME. THEY SUSPECT THAT I MAY HAVE FOR TACTICAL REASONS EXAGGERATED THE PROSPECTS OF THIS, AND THE TURKISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN REQUESTED TO SUPPLY ITS OWN APPRAISAL ON THIS POINT.

5. MY TALKS WITH ALL THE OPPOSITION LEADERS IN PARLIAMENT HAVE PERSUADED ME THAT, WHILE THEY ARE FULLY PREPARED TO EXPLOIT ECEVIT'S DILEMMA, THEY ARE ALSO PREPARED TO GIVE HIM SOME TIME AND PROBABLY TO GO ALONG WITH THE "COOL IT" POLICY NOT IN EFFECT.

6. THE PROBLEM IS, OF COURSE, THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES ARE LOOKING AT THE SAME PROBLEM THROUGH COMPLETELY DIFFERENT SETS OF GLASSES. THE TURKISH POSITION IS THAT THE POPPY BAN WAS IMPOSED HERE  
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WHEN TURKEY HAD A MILITARY-BACKED GOVERNMENT AND NORMAL DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES WERE NOT IN EFFECT. BOTH ECEVIT AND GUNES HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSERTED TO ME THAT NO DEMOCRATICALLY-BASED GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE IMPOSED THE BAN OR CAN MAINTAIN IT. THEY POINT OUT THAT THE US CONSTANTLY EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY, BUT THEN WE PROTEST WHEN, AS IN THIS INSTANCE, DEMOCRACY PRODUCES A RESULT WE DO NOT LIKE. THE EMPHASIZE THAT NOT JUST THE

GOVERNMENT COALITION PARTIES BUT EVERY OTHER POLITICAL PARTY OF CONSEQUENCE IS COMMITTED TO A REPEAL OF THE BAN. THEY CONTEND THAT THE IMPOVERISHED FARMERS OF THE FORMER OPIUM GROWING PROVINCES ARE BEING REQUIRED TO MAKE DISPROPORTIONATE SACRIFICES FOR THE BENEFIT OF FAR RICHER PEOPLES ELSEWHERE. THEY NOTE THE ISSUE HAS CEASED TO BE A REGIONAL ONE IN TURKEY AND HAS BECOME A NATIONAL ONE, IN THE SENSE THAT THERE IS NOW WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT THIS ISSUE TESTS WHETHER AMERICANS OR TURKS ARE RUNNING TURKEY. FINALLY, THEY ARE DEEPLY INDIGNANT THAT THE US ALLEGEDLY WANTS INDIA TO INCREASE ITS OPIUM PRODUCTION WHILE INSISTING THAT THE POOR TURKISH FARMER MUST CONTINUE NOT TO GROW A SINGLE POPPY. THERE IS NO WAY THAT ANY TURK CAN BE CONVINCED THAT INDIA IS A MORE DISCIPLINED COUNTRY, CAPABLE OF RUNNING A BETTER SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM, THAN TURKEY.

7. THE US POSITION IS THAT (A) WE HAVE AN AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY, EMBODIED IN AN EXCHANGE OF COMMUNICATIONS IN 1971, WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD BE BREACHED BY ANY RESCISION OF THE BAN (THE GOT VIGOROUSLY REJECTS THIS ARGUMENT, ASSERTING THAT TURKEY'S DECISION WAS INILAEAL; WE SAY, "READ THE DOCUMENTS", AND ASK IF THEY REALLY BELIEVE THAT \$35 MILLION WOULD HAVE BEEN FORTHCOMING WITHOUT AN AGREEMENT); (B) GROWING POPPIES AGAIN WOULD BE OF BUT MARGINAL ECONOMIC BENEFIT TO THE LEGITIMATE POPPY FARMER AND HISTORICALLY HAS NEVER BEEN A SOLUTION TO HIS PLIGHT; (C) A BAN RESCISION WOULD NOT BE A FARMERS' BENEFIT PROGRAM BUT A CROOKS' BENEFIT PROGRAM, WITH MILLIONS OF ILLICIT DOLLARS AGAIN ACCRUING TO THE TRAFFICKERS WHOSE ORGANIZATIONS HERE REMAIN INTACT; (D) WE HAVE TURNED A CORNER IN OUR FLIGHT AGAINST HERION, BUT WE ARE CONVINCED THAT RESUMPTION OF POPPY GROWING WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO TURKISH RELATED HERION AGAIN FLOWING INTO THE US; AND (E) FINALLY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE GOT HAS AN EMOTIONALLY CHARGED DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEM ON ITS HANDS, BUT SO DO WE.

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8. IN THIS LATTER CONNECTIO I HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT, IF THE BAN IS RESCINDED, THE US EXECUTIVE BRANCH WILL, OF COURSE, BE EXTREMELY UNHAPPY BUT WILL KEEP ITS PERSPECTIVE AND WILL OPPOSE ANY RETALITORY STEPS JEOPARDIZING OTHER IMPORTANT MUTUAL INTERESTS HERE (E.G., THERE ARE OVER 25 "COMMON DEFENSE" INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY). AS THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE STRESSED THAT CONGRESS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY REACT WITH RETALIATORY MEASURES AND HIGHLY DAMAGING ORATORY, AND WE SEE TURKEY COMING IN FOR THE SAME TYPE OF CONGRESSIONAL ABUSE AS THAT WHICH HAS PLAGUED OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE. THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF THAT WILL BE A NEW ROUND OF TURKISH REACTION AND A DESCENDING SPIRAL IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, EXTREMELY DAMAGING TO THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

9. AS OF NOW, THE PROSPECTS OF HEADING OFF AT LEAST SOME  
RECISION OF THE BAN ARE EXTREMELY POOR. THERE IS A SLIM  
CHANCE LEFT, HOWEVER, THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DO SO. AS LONG  
AS THAT POSSIBILITY REMAINS, WE SHOULD OF COURSE FOCUS ON IT.  
WHEN AND IF IT DISAPPEARS WE SHOULD AS A FALL-BACK CONCEN-  
TRATE ON ACHIEVING AS LITTLE GROWING AND AS MASSIVE SURVEILLANCE  
AS WE CAN BRING ABOUT. IF WE COME TO THAT LATTER STAGE, THE  
LONGER WE HAVE MANAGED TO "HANG TOUGH" WITH RESPECT TO  
NO GROWING AT ALL, THE MORE LIKELY THE GOT WILL BE TO DO ALL IT  
CAN TO CONVINCE US THAT THE GROWING WILL BE DONE UNDER CONDITIONS  
WHICH WILL AT LEAST PARTIALLY PLACATE US.

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